

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY S/S:PTARNOFF:MS
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D:WARREN CHRISTOPHER
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SUBJECT:

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE ONLY FROM WARREN CHRISTOPHER
AND PETER TARNOFF

1. IN ORDER TO GIVE YOU A BETTER SENSE OF THE AWE IN WHICH
WE ARE FOLLOWING YOUR MISSION, AND TO FILL THE UNDERSTAND-
ABLE VOID THAT YOU MUST BE FEELING, OR AS YOU DIPLOMATICALLY
PUT IT "SOMEWHAT LACKING IN FEEDBACK AS TO WASHINGTON RE-
ACTION" WE HAVE DECIDED TO TRANSMIT TO YOU IN FULL THE
TEXT OF BILL SAFIRE'S COLUMN IN TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES:

2. BEGIN TEXT:
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A CHILL WENT THROUGH THE CARTER FOREIGN-DEFENSE ESTABLISH-
MENT A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO WHEN WORD GOT AROUND THAT SAMUEL
HUNTINGTON - "THE LAST OF THE HAWKS" - WAS TO BE THE PRIN-
CIPAL AUTHOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S DEFENSE SPEECH AT WINSTON-
SALEM, N.C.

SURE ENOUGH, THE FEARS OF THE ACCOMMODATIONISTS WHO NOW

PERMEATE THE FOREIGN POLICY APPARATUS WERE JUSTIFIED:
AFTER A YEAR OF OLIVE-BRANCHING THAT RESULTED ONLY IN SOVIET
SCORN, THE PRESIDENT LAST WEEK READ A SPEECH DENOUNCING THE
"MYTH" THAT "THIS COUNTRY IS PULLING BACK FROM PROTECTING
ITS INTERESTS AND ITS FRIENDS AROUND THE WORLD."

THE MYTH, OF COURSE, IS THE REALITY, WHICH IS WHY THE
PRESIDENT WAS FORCED TO MAKE A YOU-BETTER-STOP-PUSHING-US-
AROUND SPEECH. IN ALL PROBABILITY, THE WINSTON-SALEM
BROADSIDE WAS A ONE-SHOT, TO BE USED IN SELLING SALT TO
CONGRESS BUT NOT TO BE VIEWED AS A HARBINGER OF ANY
HARDENING.

A PRESIDENT CANNOT QUICKLY CHANGE THE CHARACTER OF HIS FOR-
EIGN POLICY. CONTRARY TO POPULAR BELIEF, POLICY IS NOT
HAMMERED OUT IN CLASHES BETWEEN NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER
ZBIGNIEW ("WOODY WOODPECKER") BRZEZINSKI AND SECRETARY OF
STATE CYRUS VANCE, WHO SUPPOSEDLY PRESENT DIFFERENT POINTS
OF VIEW FOR CARTER DECISIONS.

IN REAL POLICY LIFE, DECISIONS ARE ENGINEERED IN THE MIND-
SETS OF THE MEN WHO PLAN AND ADMINISTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS
BELOW THE SURFACE OF CELEBRITY. TWO YEARS AGO, WITH
PRESCIENCE RARE FOR ME, I WROTE OF THE "NEW-BOY NETWORK"
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PREPARING TO TAKE OVER AFTER HENRY KISSINGER LEFT THE
SCENE. NOW IT IS IN PLACE, CREATING THE AMERICAN POSTURE
THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE FOUND SO TEMPTING TO CHALLENGE.

IN AFRICA, UNITED STATES POLICY AND OPERATIONS ARE CON-
CEIVED AND CARRIED OUT BY DAVID AARON, NOW NO. 2 MAN AT THE
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, AND FORMERLY FRITZ MONDALE'S
MAN AT THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE, WORKING WITH
RICHARD MOOSE, A DISCIPLE OF SENATOR WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
AT THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, LONG A LEADING
EXPONENT OF U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA.

MESSRS. AARON AND MOOSE BOTH HAVE LIFELONG COMMITMENTS
TO DISENGAGEMENT, WITHDRAWAL, ACCOMMODATION. BOTH HAVE
RECENTLY BEEN PRESIDENTIAL ENVOYS TO THE HORN OF AFRICA,
AND BOTH WILL REPORT BACK TO MR. CARTER VIEWS FROM EYES
THAT NARROW AT THE PROSPECT OF ACTIVELY CONFRONTING SOVIET
PROBES. MR. CARTER HAS TO FOLLOW THE ADVICE - HE HAS NO
INDEPENDENT VIEW TO DISPUTE IT - AND IN THAT WAY IS THE
POLICY MADE TO CAVE IN TO PRESSURE ON SOMALIA, CHAD, KENYA
AND RHODESIA.

ANTHONY LAKE, WHO STORMED OUT OF THE N.S.C. IN 1970 OVER THE CAMBODIA INCURSION (STRANGE HOW LITTLE WE HEAR ABOUT THE BLOODBATH IN CAMBODIA NOW), ALSO HAS A HAND IN THE RELUCTANCE OF THIS GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. TONY LAKE GHOSTED HENRY KISSINGER'S 60,000-WORD POLICY STATEMENT IN 1970; HE GHOSTS MOST OF CY VANCE'S SPEECHES TODAY, AND PEOPLED THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WITH MOST OF THE "NEW-BOYS NETWORK."

IN THE MIDEAST, NEW BOYS AND OLD BOYS COMBINE TO GIVE THE "TILT" TOWARD ACCOMMODATING RADICAL ARABS. PROBABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT THINKER IS PUBLICITY-SHY WILLIAM QUANT OF THE N.S.C., A FORMER UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMIC. LONG-TIME STATE DEPARTMENT ARABIST ALFRED LEROY ATHERTON, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WHO ACCEPTED A REPRIMAND FOR LEAKING SECRETS TO HELP A WRITER BETTER GLORIFY THE KISSINGER GENIUS AT ISRAELI COST, IS NOW CHIEF SHUTTLE.

MR. ATHERTON'S RISE MAKES ROOM FOR HAL SAUNDERS TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. THAT OLD KISSINGER HAND COULD TELL THE SENATE ALL THE DETAILS ABOUT THE SECRET SELLOUT OF THE KURDS, IF THEY WANTED TO ASK IN DETAIL; I BELIEVE HE WOULD TREAT THE ISRAELIS WITH THE SAME AMORAL PRACTICALITY. (MEANWHILE, IN A NICE IRONIC TWIST, HENRY HAS NOW EMBRACED MENACHEM BEGIN, THE PRESENT TARGET OF HIS OLD PROTEGES; EVIDENTLY THE KISSINGER DESIRE TO SUCCEED JACK JAVITS AS NEW YORK'S SENATOR IN 1980 HAS LED TO A "REASSESSMENT.")

THROUGHOUT THE ADMINISTRATION - FROM MONDALITE LYNN DAVIS AT DEFENSE TO BROOKINGSITE BARRY BLECKMAN AT ARMS CONTROL TO KENNEDYITE BOB HUNTER AT THE N.S.C. - WELL-INTENTIONED YOUNG PEOPLE AT THE LEVERS OF IMPOTENCE ARE PRODUCTS OF VIETNAM'S ANTI-INVOLVEMENT HOTHOUSE, ALL ANXIOUSLY SUPPORTING EACH OTHER'S HOPES THAT THE BEST WAY TO DISCOURAGE COMMUNIST EXPANSION IS TO IGNORE IT.

HOW MUST THESE ACCOMMODATIONISTS FEEL WHEN THEIR PRESIDENT READS A COLD-WARRIOR SPEECH? THEY REMIND EACH OTHER THAT TRILATERALITE SAM HUNTINGTON IS ON HIS WAY OUT. BUT THEY MUST WONDER: WHAT IF THEIR LIFE'S BASIC POLICY TENET IS WRONG? WHAT IF IT IS THEIR NONINVOLVEMENT POLICY THAT HAS LED TO OUR EMBARRASSMENT IN AFRICA, OUR HUMILIATION IN BELGRADE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE FEELING ABROAD THAT IS NO MYTH THAT "THIS COUNTRY IS PULLING BACK FROM PROTECTING ITS INTERESTS. . . ."

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AND HOW MUST THE PRESIDENT FEEL? HIS SELECTION OF POLICY-
MAKERS HAS BOXED HIM IN, TURNING THE UNITED STATES INTO
THE CHAPLAIN TO THE WORLD, ACTING TO CONTAIN ALLIES ONLY,
SPEAKING STERNLY AND CARRYING A WEAK REED.

END TEXT.

3. WE TRUST THAT THIS GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE WASHING-
TON MOOD, AND THE CAREFULLY DRAWN PORTRAIT OF YOUR SIGNIF-
ICANT ROLE IN THE CENTER OF THE ACTION, WILL GIVE YOU AN
ADDED INCENTIVE TO FIND THE ENERGY NECESSARY TO COMPLETE
YOUR MISSION. WITH RESPECTFUL REGARDS.

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